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ABSTRACT

The history of mass communications suggests that the manipulation of visual imagery can have as powerful an effect on human behavior as the manipulation of the written word. Recent warnings about a "hidden curriculum" incorporated in the use of instructional technology indicate that multimedia techniques will not escape the controversy about the kinds of social values the schools are supposed to inculcate. Reasons for the scant use of illustrations in early school texts point toward an ideology of literacy and textuality that was at the center of common school education in the prephotographic age. Nineteenth century hermeneutics, unlike its post-modern version, emphasized that the author's intent determined the meaning of a text and that its essential meaning remained unified and indivisible. During the Civil War, public demand for pictorial images stimulated the rise of illustration use; photography, with its power of realism and natural replication, replaced engravings. The advent of photography coincided with the professionalization of history. However, the preference for artwork over photography that remained in the texts suggested that historians persisted in the desire to control the reaction of the reader. In the past decade, historians have been responding to the challenge of visual technology. Historians and teachers working with visual images, especially photographs, television, and film, need to develop a set of basic criteria for interpreting visual images and to alert students to the inherent biases of these formats. (Contains 47 references.) (AEF)

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FROM TEXT TO TELEVISION: HERMENEUTIC TEXTUALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF VISUAL TECHNOLOGY IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

by
Peter Knupfer

Just as the audiovisual revolution of the postwar period entirely rearranged the history and social studies classroom, so has the multimedia explosion of the 80s and 90s offered real temptations to the history teacher. Many of us old enough to remember the novelty of AV presentations--including educational films, ITV, and analog tape--are now intrigued at the exciting and promising ways that the television documentary or digitized imaging can help reconstruct and interpret the past. It is rare indeed to find the history teacher unfamiliar with audiovisual media, or who has not employed film, videotape, the transparency, or more recently, the computer, in his or her courses. But it is less common to observe the gap between the development of visual technology and its implementation in the history course. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest some reasons for this discrepancy and to raise some questions about how the multi-media revolution challenges those of us dedicated to sharing and transmitting the past to the present generation.

The challenge of visual technology to the historian and to the history teacher is of tremendous magnitude for the simple reason that the transformation of the human record means the transformation of history itself. Largely concerned with using the human record, historians, history teachers, and those entrusted with the care and preservation of the remains of our past, are understandably nervous about the pitfalls of electronic technologies. At the heart of this concern is what the profession prefers to call *the objectivity question*--the extent to which historians uncover the truth or merely talk about what they think to be true.[1]

The history of mass communications suggests that the manipulation of visual imagery can have as powerful an effect on human behavior as the manipulation of the written word. Recent warnings about a *hidden curriculum* incorporated in the use of instructional technology indicate that multimedia techniques will not escape the perennial controversy about the kinds of social values the schools are supposed in inculcate.[2] With the expansion of media technology one can trace the intensification of the controversy about hidden messages in the classroom because the very nature of the electronic medium is fluid, ephemeral, and increasingly responsive to the momentary demands of emotion and whim. If the awesome potential of visual technology heightens the importance of visual literacy, then it would be valuable to understand how the advocates of verbal literacy used the media of their day--especially the lowly schoolbook--to associate literacy with publicly-approved social values.

The teaching of history was a late comer to the common school curriculum. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, public education concentrated on training youth in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Verbal literacy and numeracy were considered the platform for an informed, industrious, *respectful* citizenry ready to participate in public life. The curriculum in the early public schools, therefore, stressed the mastery of language and numbers, usually through rote memorization and recitation of basic vocabulary and tables of numbers. Although educators occasionally incorporated historical themes in their teaching, they were too busy trying to control their unruly charges and to satisfy

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the demand for fundamentals to offer systematic study in history.

As the common school reform movement of the 1830s demonstrated, however, this was hardly a morally or ideologically neutral agenda. The common school reform movement, led by such notables as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, hitched literacy to civics and helped to bring history into the classroom. Careful studies of the common school curriculum and its mainstay, the textbook, have amply documented the nationalistic, ethnocentric, and moralistic message that it was designed to convey. The schools were to be the "pillars of the republic" and, like the family, the "nurseries of patriotism."[3] History textbooks appeared to meet the demand; the most popular ones went through dozens of editions and were still in use at the end of the century. As one influential text writer boasted, "it is from our *common school* histories, those unassuming companions of the school-room, and not from those more elaborate writings which grace the libraries of the mean of wealth and the professional scholar, that the great mass of our citizens must ever derive their knowledge of the character, toils, and privations of our fathers, and of the institutions."[4]

If patriots were made, not born, then the work was serious business indeed. Teachers, armed with a transformed pedagogy that now recognized childhood as a distinct phase of life, had a number of techniques at their command. They were instructed to take children out of the classroom to any suitable local scene associated with some unique historical event to stimulate and exhort students in the lessons of the past.[5] The very architecture and governance of the classroom were designed to transmit republican ideas. Monitorial pedagogy placed younger scholars under the direction of older ones and rewarded the mastery of lessons with advancement to positions of leadership. Where possible, teachers decorated the room with pictures of great leaders, nation and state flags, and maps of famous battles.[6]

The graphic arts could also be brought to bear. Text included woodcut engravings of the state seals, of famous leaders, of important events, and of religious and classical symbols that associated the progress of the nation with providential beneficence. George Washington's paternal visage greeted every young reader and beckoned him to national greatness through civic propriety and republican rectitude. Elaborate charts, and occasionally maps, tracked the acquisition of territory and the industrial and agricultural development of the country. Such visual imagery clearly and forcefully reinforced the basic message that the republican system was the only and the best system adapted to the American character, and that this way of life could self-destruct if students failed to place the public welfare above their own.

All of this is evident with even a cursory review of common school and popular history texts. Yet it is also clear that the ultimate emphasis of early history and civic training was the text itself: History teachers then, like their successors, were tied to texts. The most remarkable feature of early texts is the scarcity, and not the abundance, of illustrations. Early history textbooks greeted the young reader not with the dazzling illustrations common to modern textbooks, but page after page of small-print text punctuated by side bars and catechisms designed to induce complete mastery of the text. Oral and written recitation remained the standard exercise for history students.[7]

One survey of hundreds of secondary school texts across the entire century determined that only the science books--especially zoology, botany, and biology, with their emphasis on anatomy--innovated in any serious way in the incorporation of illustrations into the text.[8] Chromolithography had advanced far enough by the middle of the century to allow publishers to incorporate elaborate

colored plates, but rarely did these find their way into history books. Of the history and civics texts, most contained a frontispiece, a picture above the title of each chapter, and occasional drawings sprinkled through the book, but this constituted barely a fraction of the whole. Even the pictorial histories, written both for school children and general audiences, devoted but a tiny amount of their space to illustrations.

This is not to say that writers, publishers, teachers, or the public thought illustrations unnecessary. A few well-chosen and -executed illustrations can economically and powerfully convey a wealth of meanings without the confusion of interpretations fostered by a large number of pictures. Benson Lossing's (1857) *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution* [9] demonstrated what the marriage of research and graphic creativity could accomplish. The research, writing, and indexing, plus the creating of exquisite 1100 engravings that graced every page took Lossing three years of tireless effort. Lossing wanted those illustrations to convey the actual modern condition of Revolutionary war sites--they were the forerunner of the photograph taken from Nature. The typical school text in the 1830s and 1840s on the other hand, shamelessly copied from existing works and could be compiled and published with a year. Lossing was an engraver--he eliminated the middle man and did the sketches and woodcuts himself, cutting his costs considerably. His school texts (about a dozen of the eighty-odd books to his credit at his death in 1891), were slap dash affairs, cut and pasted together with much less attention to illustration.

Certainly the public liked the graphic arts. Noah Webster's spelling book, first published in 1783 and designed to teach, through orthography and pronunciation, a written language, included woodcut engravings to illustrate its fables. When Webster eliminated the fables and illustrations from the new 1829 edition (in favor of disconnected, contextual *sentences* and word lists more like the modern-day spelling book), his public and publisher complained loudly.[10] Webster restored a few pictures, but stood by his belief that one learns a language by learning his letters. At that point, Will McGuffey's more carefully graded books, which taught children to read through lavishly illustrated stories about other children, captured the market for school primers.

A number of factors--current pedagogical theory, the architecture of the school room and governance of the school, the state of existing technology, the ideology of common school reformers, and the fragmented, disorganized condition of extant historical sources for illustrations--help explain the disproportion of verbal and visual material in early school texts. Some of these reasons are self evident, others obscure and complex, but all point toward an ideology of literacy and textuality that was at the heart of common school education in the prephotographic age. And none of them should hide the important point that illustrations, rather than convey information, were to convey a message about American life and the reader's place in it.

A schoolteacher in the early republic believed that a student learned more from reading words than from understanding pictures, charts, or maps. The latter form of education was simply a rudimentary step on the road to a higher state of knowledge and skill: the ability to interpret texts. Pictures--be they maps or sketches--were to serve texts, and not vice versa. To the teacher, the purpose of common school education was civic and moral training, and that meant mastery of a unique constitutional and political tradition founded on written texts. Words and their meaning dominated the curriculum of the nineteenth century common school.

The public square that future citizens were to inhabit was above all dominated by the sensationalizing newspaper editor

and the orating politician whose manipulation of language civics and history texts constantly warned against. As Michael Warner has pointed out in his interpretation of the period's "culture of print," mass communications invariably reinforced textual interpretation. Even though the quickened tempo of democratic political culture in the 1840s and 1850s featured public rituals (like parades, singing, and campaign placards) ornamented by the graphic arts, the very text of public discourse was texts, especially the constitution.[11]

As one civics writer put it in the preface to his 1823 civics manual, "the most effectual method of preserving our rights unimpaired, is to make them generally known and universally recognized; and the best mode of effecting this desideratum is to incorporate in the education of youth official documents containing their fundamental basis.[12] One did not teach the constitution, therefore, by sketching its structure of divided powers on a chalk slate. Instead, the student memorized the constitution, usually by practicing his handwriting with it, by reciting a constitutional catechism in class, and occasionally, by studying a chart comparing its provisions to those of the twenty-odd state constitutions.

Existing theory about hermeneutics, the science of textual interpretation, buttressed contemporary faith in textual literalism. Nineteenth century hermeneutics, unlike its post-modern version, emphasized that the author's intent determined the meaning of a text, and that although reasonable people might disagree over how to construe a text, its essential meaning remained unified and indivisible. Little wonder that constitutional literalism was of such tremendous importance to Americans that, like the theologians who originated the concept of hermeneutics, they cited chapter and verse of their constitutional Bible as the underlying reason for killing each other in unprecedented numbers in the Civil War.[13] Literacy, language, and law were intimately bound up in the country's civic consciousness, so that mastery of all became the defining characteristic of the young citizen. In the study of history the student was to see this philosophy teaching by example.

The emergence of mass media, accompanied by the individualization of readership, heralded the tremendous success of the common school literacy campaigns. As Carl Kaestle has pointed out, "the big story in nineteenth-century American literacy is the development of common-school systems and the near elimination of self-reported out-right illiteracy among native-born whites."[14]

Civil war and industrialization shattered this cozy marriage of verbal text and visual image and loosened the historian's tie to texts. The Civil War left too many loose ends, especially because Americans could interpret it as either a vindication or a failure of a unified tradition embodied in written texts. History writers had to grapple with the war's terrifying and unsettling themes. And they also had to confront the war's new visual heritage: photography, which transmitted the brutality, not the glory, of mass destruction. During the war, an insatiable public demand for pictorial images stimulated the rise of illustrated magazines and provided plenty of employment for master sketch artists like Frank Leslie. Furthermore, the perfection of lithographic technology equipped the graphic arts with a magnificent array of tools. Engravings--be they woodcut, steel, or line--now could be supplanted by tremendously detailed pictures completely under the control of the illustrator, pictures that could be transferred cheaply and efficiently to the printed page.[15]

Photography, unlike engraving, eliminated the middle man. Americans invested the new medium with powers of realism and natural replication that they would apply later to radio and television. The camera could capture Nature, unlike the engraver who acted as the medium

between the sketch illustrator and the reader. Even engravers who had striven for accuracy in depicting natural scenes could not compete with the camera. Here, in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, was a "mirror with a memory" capable of bringing history directly before the eyes of nonparticipants.

The advent of photography coincided with the professionalization of history. A new generation of scholars trained in history as an academic *science* that painstakingly reconstructed the past succeeded the generation of ministers, lawyers, journalists, and scissors-and-paste compilers responsible for the writing of textbooks. The new history's revolt against romanticism and the literary tradition of history writing exalted the uncovering and transmission of facts unmediated by the personality of the writer.[16] History writers still held to the narrative form, but they directed its course with what they believed was a rigorous chain of cause and effect derived from the tedious analysis of the record.

At its beginnings, photography was not regarded as a form of artistic expression. It was instead another way of documenting reality. The camera, not the photographer, controlled the picture. Furthermore, photographs recorded the unusual, the *significant*, the prominent scenes of life. For example, by the turn of the century, as the Civil War faded from memory into history, photographic and pictorial histories flooded the mass market. Perhaps more photographs were available to the public then they are now, and their subjects ranged from the boredom of camp life to the eventful turning points of a presidential assassination and the execution of his murderers.[17]

The possibilities for textbook illustrations seemed limitless. But judging by the textbooks in use up through the 1920s, almost a half century after the appearance of photographic transfer processes, history text writers resisted the trend. Although textbooks incorporated some photographic, half-tone illustrations, the pictures rarely conveyed unique or discrete historical events. Frequently books printed pictures of pictures: photographs of paintings and sketches. Even though many mid-nineteenth-century public figures rushed to have their pictures taken, history texts fifty years later preferred line portraits over the original photos. One possible reason: writers, proclaiming their fidelity to the truth, thought that photographs conveyed unnecessary truths by showing history's heroes warts and all. The publication in 1890 of Jacob Riis's pioneering photographs of slum life in turn of the century New York alerted Americans to the sobering power of photography--yet none of his startling images appears in American history texts before the 1930s. Like Riis's photographs, the images of the Civil War came to the public largely by way of illustrated magazines and mass media--not a single academic historian associated himself with the use and preservation of this new form of recording the past.

Another and perhaps more powerful explanation for the continued resistance of history texts to graphic arts and photography was the nature of the competition. With the achievement of high and sustained literacy rates by the end of the century, the public's access to mass media widened at a furious pace. The hallmarks of modern mass communications, especially its commercial character and individualistic thrust, were already evident by the 1840s. As the century passed, mass advertising and the expansion of visual technology affirmed the triumph. Americans fascinated with the drama of recent history not only could flock to new museums, where photographic and other graphic displays awaited them. They could vacation there, take their cameras with them, and return with pieces of history for proud display in their very own parlors.[18]

Faced with such competition, the history text stayed the course: its emphasis

on narrative, on high politics, on macro events like industrialization, war, and territorial expansion remained essentially unchanged and undocumented by visual images. Teachers could set aside the text and use new forms of historical evidence to challenge their students, while professional historians still grappled with the problem of trying to develop a method of interpreting photographs and establishing their validity as historical sources. Change would come fitfully. Albert Bushnell Hart's "New American History," published in 1917 and destined for many editions, informed the teacher that its pictures "with the exception of a few reproductions of famous paintings, are all realities, intended to place before the pupil in visible form the faces of public men, the surroundings of famous events, and some of the national monuments and buildings.[19] Yet even Hart's book preferred artist's reproductions over original photographs. Photography was not art; art could more readily be bent to the needs of the publisher and agenda of the writer. In 1928, Row, Peterson, and Company, a major textbook publisher, announced that "for the first time original three color illustrations have been used in an elementary history text." The authors, a trio of the profession's finest scholars, boasted that:

> The physical beauty of the book is due to a conviction which the publishers share with the authors, that school children are entitled to textbooks having artistic qualities at once interesting and faithful to truth. No effort has been spared to make the illustrations of this textbook reinforce the story told in words. Contemporary photographs, drawings, and cartoons having special historical value have been liberally used. Scenic views portray our country's natural beauties and its economic development. Reproductions of painting and statuary enable the child to visualize persons and things that they commemorate, and give him a visible expression of an important phase of our development expressed in art.[20]

And what was the *truth* the book tried to convey? "The story of the greatest of the American nations" a "dramatic and inspiring story--a moving picture of brilliant colors and stirring action." The book's illustrations were, largely, artists' conceptions of events, material culture, and people. Photography just framed a story controlled by the author; it had yet to enter the textbook universe as an independent historical source. Up through the 1930s, publishers and authors preferred artwork over photographs, even after photography had been in existence long enough to record events and become a powerful tool for the history teacher. Although the patriotic, ethnocentric themes remained as the driving force in the writing of these texts, the preference for artwork over photography suggested that historians persisted in the desire to control the action and thereby the reaction of the reader. Photographs, when included, had to be *explained* to the reader, to prevent misconceptions and connect the image to the story. Artwork was more malleable and could convey emotions, prejudices, and ideas that photography supposedly had yet to capture.

Long after photography itself had become recognized as an art form that manipulated images of reality, long after the campaigns for verbal literacy achieved their greatest successes, historians remained tied to texts supported by artful and inaccurate graphics. As historical conventions and pedagogical theory changed, artwork marched along in steady support. Progressive era educators and historians revised history and the curriculum in alignment with new historical theories about class relations and new educational theories about the socializing of children. Texts down-played recitation and emphasized analysis and the expression of feelings.

This was true regardless of the writer's political agenda, for in the 1930s,

texts employed artists to illuminate the darker sides of American life. Leo Huberman's elementary text "We the People," (1932) relied entirely on Thomas Hart Benton's evocative black and white sketches of class distinctions, the horrors of the slave trade, and the deadening impersonality of industrialism to support its progressive critique of American history.

I suspect that a similar tale could be told about the impact of electronic media on the teaching of history. The radio, the LP, and the motion picture seemed to Americans to be other mirrors with a memory: ways of transmitting real events unmediated by the personality of trained experts. But a number of developments, especially the use of mass communications both as political propaganda by totalitarian regimes and for advertising, made it clear that visual technologies transmitted not reality, but a number of interpretations of reality. Television so quickly diffused throughout and flattened the culture that its impact remains to be assessed fully. By making the viewer an eyewitness, it seemed to have pulled down the final barrier between a history distant and intangible and the making of events for future generations to witness.

The history textbook tried to adapt. In the aftermath of the second world war, the country's reflexive concern about recovering lost values and protecting them against ideological enemies of foreign and domestic origin reinvigorated the teaching of history with a sense of vital purpose. Publishers came out with ever more lavishly illustrated editions, filled with maps, charts, and photographs. The cycle of historical revisionism, with its assumption that generations rewrite the country's history, encouraged text writers to pose difficult questions and print more controversial images. The common school reformers had defined republican citizenship as a patriotic faith, leavened with vigilance for one's rights, but based almost entirely on the *moral capacity* of individuals to make public decisions. In this view, education required the training of the child's moral sense so that he could act rightly on the information drilled in to him day by day. Americans by the middle of the twentieth century had significantly muted this exclusivity. Cultural literacy entailed not simply the ability to read and write, but also the development of critical, independent thinking in public affairs.[21] Educators in both time periods shared the basic consensus that a republican form of government was best suited to the American character, but they had very different notions of that *character* and how it was formed.

Recently, there has been a surge of interest in the question of declining literacy rates.[22] Some historians, noting that the supposed decline dovetails with the decline of narrative forms and the rise of visual technology, have tried to maintain the old emphasis on reading and textual analysis. The textbook publishers, on the other hand, have moved vigorously into the multimedia markets, aggressively pushing CD-ROM texts that provide instant access to picture, photograph, chart, and word. Yet the publishers also display an overweening sensitivity to the historian's and the teacher's desire to control the story. For even though multimedia workstations and CD-ROM databases free the student from the tyranny of text, they do not, so the argument goes, free the student from the teacher.

In the past decade, historians have been responding, if belatedly, to the challenge of visual technology. While they are quarelling about the relative biases of narrative forms, they are moving to understand the nature and impact of visual technology. Scholarly committees of the professional societies are investigating the development of electronic archives, the transmission and durability of electronic texts, the use of computer-based simulations and desktop publishing, and the collating and preservation of the rapidly deteriorating yet vast array of photographs that languish uncataloged in museums and historical agencies. To accomplish this important task, historians

need to develop a set of basic criteria for interpreting visual images, as they have had for understanding the documentary record. Ancient, medieval, and biblical scholars have for years studied the nature and method of text illumination, and have produced loose systems for interpretation and analysis.

Simply put, historians and educators should consider mounting a visual literacy campaign of the magnitude and energy of the early common school reformers. Historians and teachers working with visual images, especially photographs, television, and film, need to alert students to the inherent biases of these formats. Students will be willing partners in the endeavor, for they seem more capable of critiquing film and tape than they are of printed text. In that way, they can test the truth of Oliver Wendell Holmes's definition of the photograph as an illusion with the "appearance of reality that cheats the senses with its seeming truth."[23]

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[1]See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988).

[2]See, for example, Elizabeth Ellsworth and Mariamne H. Whatley, *The Ideology of Images in Educational Media: Hidden Curriculums in the Classroom* (New York, 1990). On the country's emotional and ideological investment in postwar education, see Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980* (New York, 1983).

[3]For a good bibliography, see Jean Dresden Grambs, The Study of Textbooks and Schoolbooks, A Selected Bibliography in William E. Patton (Ed.), *Improving the Use of Social Studies Textbooks*, National Council for the Social Studies Bulletin #63 (Washington, 1980), pp. 61-76. The standard content analysis is Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 1963); J. Merton England, "The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860." *American Quarterly* 15 (1963): 191-199; Lee Soltow and Edward Stevens, *Rise of Literacy and the Common School in the United States: A Socioeconomic Analysis to 1870* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 11-22; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1790-1860* (New York: 1983), pp. 35, 75-103; Lawrence Cremin, *American Education, The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York, 1980), pp. 490-495; Baker, "Learning to be Americans," in Her *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of the Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1983), pp. 71-107; D. J. Booth, "Popular Educational Thought of the Early National Period in America, 1776-1830..." (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Colorado, 1974); R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Citizenship Education in the United States," in *Education for Responsible Citizenship* (New York, 1977), pp. 47-68.

[4]Marcius Willson, *A Critical Review of American Common School Histories* (New York, 1847) p. 1.

[5]Samuel R. Hall, *Lectures on School-Keeping* (Boston, 1829), pp. 95-98.

[6]Baker, *Affairs of Party*, pp. 91-105.

[7]A straightforward description of content, organization, and style may be found in John A. Nietz, *The Evolution of American Secondary School Textbooks...Before 1900* (Rutland, Vt., 1966).

[8]Neitz, *Evolution*, pp. 2-6.

[9]2 vols. (New York, 1859).

[10]E. Jennifer Monaghan, *A Common Heritage: Noah Webster's Blue-*

Back Speller (Hamden, Conn., 1983), pp. 128-130.

[11]Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, 1990).

[12]Pardon Davis, *The Principles of the Government of the United States. Adapted to the Use of Schools* (Philadelphia, 1823).

[13]Hermeneutics was introduced to the United States by the country's first self-proclaimed political scientist, Francis Lieber, who was trained by German scholars conversant with ancient texts. See Francis Lieber, *Legal and Political Hermeneutics* (Boston, 1839) and Lieber's discussion of language as "the greatest link and tie of humanity" in two of his works, *On Civil Liberty and Self Government* (Philadelphia, 1859), 2:185-86, 424,134, and *On History and Political Economy,...* (Columbia, 1836), p. 14. Post-modern thinkers have radically reoriented hermeneutical methods away from Lieber's intentionalist perspective. See Shaun Gallagher, *Hermeneutics and Education* (Albany, 1992), esp. p. 350.

[14]Carl F. Kaestle, et al., Eds., *Literacy in the United States: Readers and Reading since 1880* (New Haven, 1991), p. 25.

[15]These developments can be traced in Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1974) which covers more than its title implies.

[16]Novic, *That Noble Dream*, pp. 21-46.

[17]For a discussion of the reaction to photography, see Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 160-163; and Jussim, *Visual communications*, passim.

[18]Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early American, 1700-1865* (Oxford, 1989), p. 219.

[19](New York, 1917), p. v.

[20]Authors' note, Eugene C. Barker, Walter Prescott Webb, William E. Dodd, *The Growth of a Nation: The United States of America* (Evanston, 1928), p. vi. The publishers claimed that "the pictures tell a true story of some event or personage in American history."

[21]Richard Pratte, *The Civic Imperative: Examining the Need for Civic Education* (New York, 1988).

[22]Kaestle, et al., *Literacy in the United States*, pp. 74-148, analyze contemporary reading levels and dispute claims of a decline in literacy.

[23]Quoted in James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (Knofp, 1981), p. 229.

Short-Title List of Teacher's Manuals, History, and Civics Texts Examined

Barker, E. C., et al. (1928). *The growth of a nation: The United States of America*. Evanston.

Bradford, A. (1840). *History of the federal government, for 50 years from March 1789 to March 1839* . Boston.

Brownell, H. H. (1854). *The people's book of American history, comprising the new world* . Hartford.

Burleigh, J. (1848). *The American manual, ...adapted to the use of schools, academies, and the public* . Philadelphia.

Butler, F. (1826). *A history of the United States of America. With a geographical appendix, and a chronological table of contents. For the use of families and schools* . Buffalo.

Butler, F. (1821). *A complete history of the United States of America, Embracing the whole period from the discovery of North America, down to the year 1820.* Philadelphia.

Connor, R. D. W. (1921). *The story of the United States: For young Americans*. Raleigh, NC.

Davis, P. (1823). *The principles of the government of the United States. Adapted to the use of schools* . Philadelphia.

Fisher, R. S. (1854). *The progress of the United States of America from the earliest periods, geographical, statistical, historical*. New York.

Flanders, H. (1860, 1874). *An exposition of the constitution... Designed as a manual of instruction.* Philadelphia.

Frost, J. (1838). *The history of the United States of North America*. London.

Goodrich, C. A. (1833). *A history of the United States of America...to the present time*. Hartford.

Goodrich, S. G. (1850). *A pictorial history of America: Embracing the northern and southern portions* . Hartford.

Graff, H. F. (1972). *The free and the brave* (2nd ed.). New York.

Green, R. P., et al. (1984). *The American tradition: A history of the United States*. Columbus.

Grimshaw, W. (1841). *History of the United States* . Philadelphia.

Hall, S. R. (1829). *Lectures on school-keeping*. Boston.

Hart, J. S. (1862, 1874). *A brief exposition of the constitution of the United States for the use of common schools*. Philadelphia.

Hart, A. B. (1917). *New American history* . New York.

Hickey, W. (1854). *The constitution of the United States of America, with an alphabetical analysis*. Washington.

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